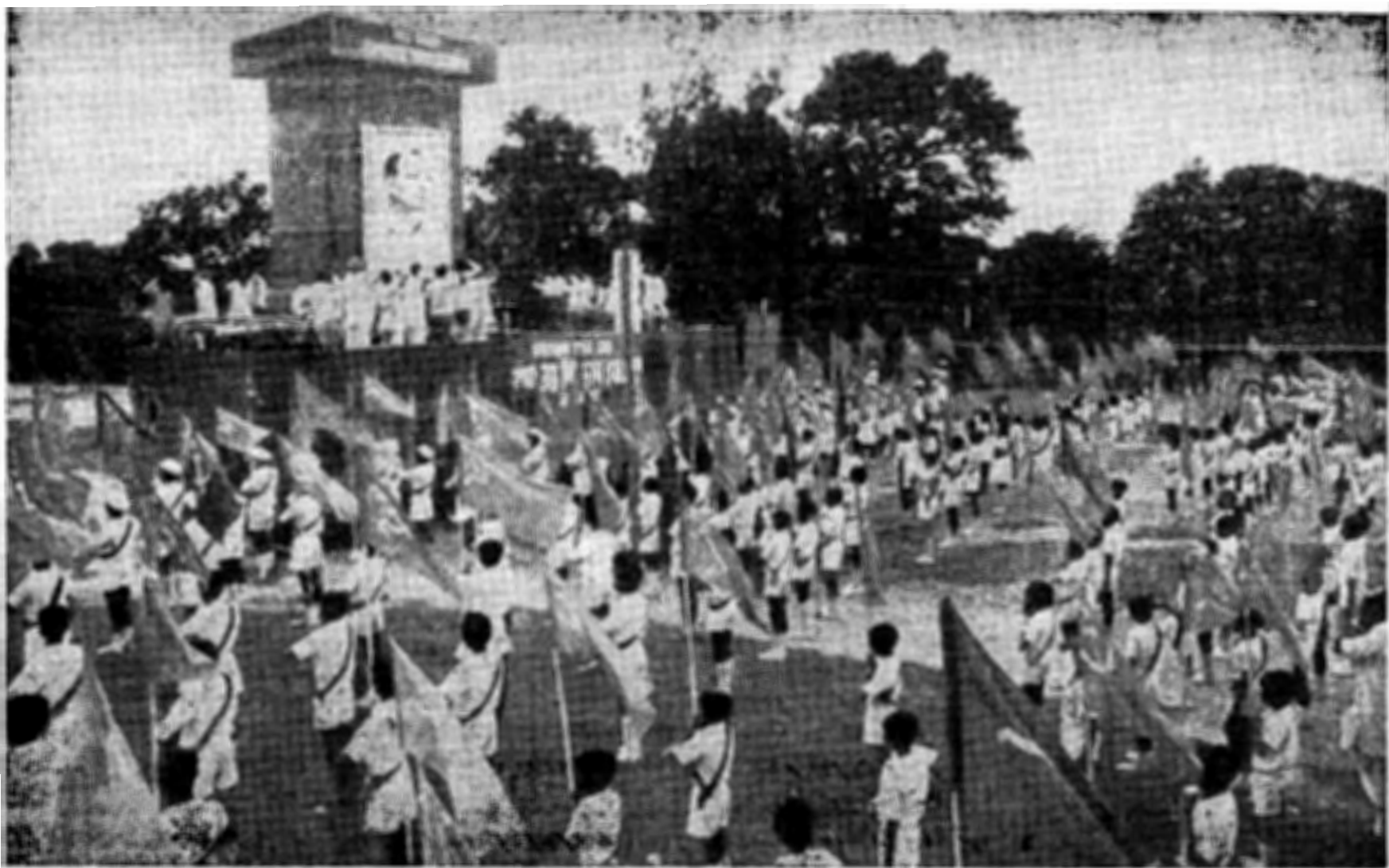




On 5th August memorial meeting, Komsomol, the young communist wing of SUCI presenting guard of honour. Central & State Committee leaders on the rostrum giving red salute to portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

GRASP REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHTS OF COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH—THE BEACON LIGHT TO EMANCIPATION

COM. NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S
CALL ON 5th AUGUST

[Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech read out at the meeting of 5th August—Ed. Board. P. Era]

5th August is a Day of Remembrance in the history of World Communist Movement. On this day, three years back, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of this era breathed his last. By upholding the nobility of communist ideology in the international communist movement at every moment of his life, he left behind invaluable contributions in the field of ideology.

His was an epoch-making historic contribution in the ideological fight against all sorts of confusions that were being created by different schools of bourgeois philosophy, particularly its modern trends. He was the first to point out that modern revisionism-reformism was the main danger in the present day international communist movement and showed the correct line of struggle against it. His ceaseless and untiring struggle against economism-opportunism and diverse varieties of social democracy that permeated through and

through the movements of the workers and the people, gave a correct and new direction to the working class movement of our country. His correct and scientific analysis on each and every national and international question shall act as invaluable guide to the proletariat in their struggle for emancipation for decades to come. While providing concrete analysis and concrete solution to the problems that appeared in the post-Lenin period not only in the political and socio-economic fields, but also in all other aspects of life and epistemology—

science, economy and philosophy, ethics, morality, culture, art-literature and aesthetics, he developed elaborated, enriched Marxism-Leninism and brought it to a level of new understanding.

To subordinate individual interest to the greater social and revolutionary interest—so long this was conceived as to be the highest standard of communist consciousness and morality. As against this, he for the first time showed that in the present era, to acquire the highest communist character one must identify his self unconditionally, happily and unquestionably with the proletariat class, revolution and the party. He himself was the living embodiment of this highest standard of communist character. In him, personal life and revolutionary life was merged into one and the same. His was a life completely identified with revolution and revolutionary movement. Party is life; revolution is life—this consciousness found its best expression in him.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary, leader, teacher and guide of our Party the SUCI, had shown by analysis radiant with his profound

wisdom, that in India the national bourgeoisie is in the state power—that India is not only a capitalist state—

(Contd. to page 3)

15th AUGUST

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION PLEDGE DAY

On 15th of August, thirty two years ago, political power was transferred from the hands of the imperialist rulers to Indian national bourgeoisie. India emerged as a politically independent sovereign bourgeois state. Amidst drumbeatings and din and bustle one lone voice, the voice of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was reminding the people of the historic truth. He showed that the people of our country through their glorious anti-imperialist freedom struggle were not only fighting for national liberation but liberation from exploitation in every sphere of their life. But because of absence of a real revolutionary working class party and its leadership over the freedom movements, bourgeoisie could easily usurp the fruits of people's sufferings and sacrifices and consolidate their position in the state power. So, political freedom was, no doubt, achieved but instead of the hegemony of the working class, the hegemony of the bourgeoisie

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ORGAN OF
SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Founder Editor-In-Chief: COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

*Proletarian
Era*

FILTHY OPPORTUNIST POLITICS OF CPI AND CPI(M)

(Contd. to page 1)

was established. Comrade Ghosh also warned that because of the basic weakness in the bourgeois leadership in the era of moribund capitalism, because of its reformist-oppositional role against imperialism-feudalism, many tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, more particularly in the socio-cultural field, remained incomplete.

When, all the parties including the united CPI were giving cheers to the bourgeois planning and reform measures, it was again this voice of the great revolutionary leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party, uttered the historic caution to our people. He showed that the capitalist path of development of the country in the era of moribund capitalism was sure to be associated with the shadow of crisis—one crisis succeeded by a deeper crisis. No amount of so-called planning and reform measures of the bourgeoisie within this crisis-ridden capitalist system could, therefore, deliver any good to the toiling people, rather as days would pass on, their miseries and destitution would go on multiplying.

Exposing the motive of bourgeois planning and policy of nationalisation of industries which were lauded to the sky as 'socialist measures' even by the united CPI, it was only our Party under the leadership of the great marxist thinker of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, showed that all those measures were aimed at concentration and centralisation of economic and political powers, thereby giving the rock bottom foundation of fascism. All those measures were to accelerate the pace of capitalist development and consolidation, in the given situation and had nothing to do with ameliorating the sufferings of the toiling people. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who time and again cautioned the people, that Indian capital through the process of coalescence of banking capital with industrial capital had already given birth to

monopoly finance capital as also a financial oligarchy and in the process of capitalist development started exporting capital to farflung overseas markets and all these developments unmistakably showed, according to the teachings of Lenin, that it had acquired the features of imperialism. The revisionists and social democrats turned blind eye to all these significant developments.

This is natural for these parties because, instead of setting before them the revolutionary objective of overthrowing the moribund and utterly reactionary capitalism, they, under cover of their fanciful theories of Peoples' Democratic Revolution or National Democratic Revolution, have although maintained political alignment with the bourgeoisie in power and came in rescue of the bourgeoisie at every crucial moment of the country's political development. That is why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, time and again cautioned the people that the so-called revolutionary strategy and tactics of these parties are no better than programme of reforms from the governmental power within the framework of bourgeois exploitative productive system.

And it is because of the reformist role played by these parties as forces of compromise between labour and capital from within the ranks of the toiling people, their struggles and movements, in the past, despite tremendous sacrifices and sufferings, never got the correct base political line of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. Consequently those movements and

struggles instead of giving birth to people's own instruments of struggles and political power were in fact, utilised by these revisionist and social democratic parties as stepping stones to parliamentary careerism.

On 15th August, this year, the toiling people of our country can very well refresh their memories to find that history has vindicated every bit of the analyses and warnings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the founder General Secretary of our party. They can see for themselves that in this third phase of intense crisis of world capitalist market and faced with mounting discontents of the people, the bourgeoisie has been taking recourse, more and more to fascist devices in order to stem the tide of people's movements against the ever mounting burden of capitalist exploitation and tyranny. Not only has there been steady concentration of economic and political power, but even the last vestiges of relative administrative neutrality, of minimum democratic norms and principles, freedom of movement, minimum political ethics and morals have been given the goodbye. And in the pursuit of all these sordid aims and designs, the bourgeoisie got all the help and co-operation, directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly from the revisionist and social democratic parties who all now stand against people's militant movements and in defence of moribund capitalism.

Since the last parliamentary and assembly polls, the pseudo-left and pseudo-Marxist parties like CPI(M) and CPI along with their allies, have been giving this service to the bourgeoisie more nakedly, throwing to the four winds, their previous pro-struggle pretensions and postures. Today, from the government they are showing the same ruthlessness as did Congress in the past, in

deploying state machinery against democratic and legitimate struggles, the most glaring example of which is the barbarity perpetrated by CPI(M) led government on 15th June in West Bengal. From within the ranks of the toiling people too, these parties, CPI(M) and others, are trying to arrest the movements of the people. So, both from within and outside, the parties like CPI(M) are serving the interest of crisis-ridden bourgeoisie.

15th of August this year, comes with still more danger signals. Indian bourgeoisie, seeing the mounting discontent against the autocratic one-party Congress rule under Indira Gandhi's leadership decided to give concrete shape to two-party system through the Parliamentary Poll of 1977. This, they were trying for long, as was cautioned by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh long back. The entire calculation of the bourgeoisie was that in order to diffuse and divert the discontent of the people, one party Congress rule was to be ended and an alternative was to be inducted in power so that the discontent of the people might not be directed against the very system. It fondly hoped that with the end of Congress rule and gradual crystallization of two or three parties at the national level and some regional parties inducted to governmental power in states, the projected two-party system would get viability and people's grievance could be arrested within the narrow bounds of parliamentarism-legalism.

But within two years or so, this calculation of the bourgeoisie got a severe jolt. The deep crisis at the root of the system has not only cast its reflection on the entire bourgeois parliamentary system which has been passing through, perplexing splintering into groups and sub-groups of the big bourgeois parties like the Congress and Janata but even on the coercive instruments of the state. The normally loyal and

disciplined policemen and even the para-military personnels rose in virtual revolt against the authorities, touched by the acute economic crisis and for the first time, army had to be called in to contain CRP, CISF personnels. The bourgeois press, top monopoly houses, bourgeois ideologues could not suppress their alarm and apprehension at this dangerous drift. But no sooner the echo of police and para-military revolt had died down, another very disturbing thing appeared on the political scene. The Central Government run by the Janata conglomerate, though giving the signal for sometime past, actually crumbled down. The Janata Government at the Centre fell, not because of the opposition from outside but it was toppled by a section of the party who joined hands with both Congress and got also the overt and covert support of CPI and CPI(M). In this murky game, the stinking morals and principles in the cesspool of bourgeois politics even seemed to be shocking to the bourgeois press but not to parties like CPI and CPI(M).

Both these parties CPI(M) and CPI were the most enthusiastic campaigners for toppling the Morarji Government by defections. CPI(M) maintained its political alliance with the Janata Party and lent full support to Morarji Government till the time it became certain that the government would not last. But Morarji Government which came with the high slogan of restoration of democracy and brought back some formal democratic features in the constitution was at the same time crushing democratic movements with autocratic high-handedness and was even retaining the provision of Preventive Detention while amending the 42nd amendment of the constitution. CPI(M) chose not to speak much against all this. And with the accentuation of crisis, the Janata Government threw off its mask

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Build up mass struggle on the edifice of higher proletarian ethics

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capitalism in India through the coalescence of banking capital with Industrial capital has given birth to financial oligarchy—Indian capital, being transformed into finance capital is exported to the foreign market to exploit the cheap raw materials and labour power of these countries. It was this feature of capital which Lenin characterised as imperialism. Though relatively less powerful than the imperialist countries of the West, our country, by and large is manifesting growing symptoms of imperialism and fascism.

He further analysed to show that capitalism developed in India at a stage when world capitalism became moribund and out and out reactionary. Secondly, being born in the womb of imperialism and feudalism and developed by compromising with both, Indian capitalism on the one hand failed to grow up with a revolutionary character with uncompromising features against feudalism, blind religious faith and narrow religious mental make up and on the other hand—since it developed as a part and parcel of world capitalism at a stage when the latter was passing through the third acute general crisis, was facing an hourly crisis.

So, in such a situation whoever advocates solution of agrarian problem and problem of unemployment by encouraging small peasant's economy and small production whatever slogan may it raise or nomenclature may it possess—knowingly or unknowingly—it virtually helps to breed only fascism in the country. The Indian capitalist class which is a partner of international trusts and cartels and multinationals, along with other imperialist powers—has given birth to powerful, ruthless and corrupt monopoly capital—is shifting the burden of its economic crisis on to the shoulder of the people—throttling

the voice of progress, destroying art, literature, science and epistemology, economics, politics, culture, ethics, moral and everything. This is a moribund, most corrupt and out and out reactionary capitalism.

That is why corruption, selfishness, individualism, cowardice, avarice, aimless desparateness—all these base tendencies are being encouraged to thrive in our social life. In the present socio-political and economic situation of our country, the political instability born out of acute economic crisis vis-a-vis the most unscrupulous behaviour of the bourgeois parties and the social democratic parties like the CPI(M) have made this fact amply clear as day light. Instances of this very fact are ample at every pore within the society—within the current political trend of the country and in the ethical cultural and moral standard of its leadership. But it is unhistorical, unscientific and fatalistic too, to hold since the moral and ethical values have once degraded, they can never rise up again to a higher standard any more. It is slipping into pessimism. And by this one minimises or rather denies the role of anti-thesis and repudiates individual's responsibility and initiative within the society.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh upheld this very lesson that idea is not merely a mechanical manifestation or reflection of matter. Within idea, as it is a part of the superstructure of a given material base—there too exist two opposite forces and since the relation between matter and idea is dialectical in nature, the latter is capable of directly influencing the former.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had also shown that in the society man is awakened through action. When the youth of the society—not only the educated section, but also the workers, peasants and other sections of the people

which together comprise the collective strength of the youth the real life-force of the society—when this life-force of the society while constantly fighting against old ideals and values, and being surged in the social current strives for new ideals and truths man's outlook is changed, he frees himself from narrowness, takes a leading role in the social movement and mass struggle—and the revolutionary transformation of the society ultimately becomes a reality.

This invaluable analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that in a class divided society, there is the exploiting class on the one side and the exploited class on the other—and surged within the class struggle that is continuously going on between these two opposite classes, the social political and cultural life of our country is moving onward. The intellectual faculty, the thoughts and ideas, the social thinking, whatever we see within us—is its superstructure, the outcome of this class struggle being constantly surged within by it. So we cannot move even a step ahead without correctly ascertaining the real nature of this class struggle.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had further shown that to tackle with such a situation, one must have first to participate in the day to day democratic struggle of the people that are being organised against all sorts of exploitation and oppression, secondly, to develop through practice, covering all aspects of life, a correct understanding of the revolutionary theory and ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the most scientific, and the best philosophical outlook which alone can give birth to a new advanced classless society, free from all sorts of exploitation and oppression by emancipating the humanity from the decadence and deprivation

of the existing exploitative capitalist society, and thirdly, to integrate cultural and ideological struggle with the programme of struggle for achieving anti-capitalist socialist revolution of the working class, to conduct struggle for higher proletarian ethics and culture and thereby create an environment conducive to cultural and political revolution throughout the entire country. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who had boldly revealed the truth that so long there was no correct path and ideology before the struggles in our country i.e. so long their base political line and leadership of the struggles were not correct, or in other words, the struggles were devoid of correct strategy and tactics of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. The agitations which took place centring round the demand of the people, and which were attempted to pass for 'revolution', were essentially struggles for reforms within the existing capitalist structure.

It is for this reason that one must note if the base political line of the struggle is correct—i.e. whether it does possess the correct strategy and tactics of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. This apart, to identify the correct leadership, one must have to take note of the fact that among the parties participating in the movement which particular party seriously endeavours to build up the fighting people's committees from among all sections of the toiling people, namely the workers, peasants, students and youths, which like the soviets of Russian revolution will act as their instrument of struggle. To identify the correct leadership, a vigilant eye must have to be kept on another particular aspect i.e. on the fact that among the parties participating in the movement, the leaders and cadres of which particular party reflect a higher standard of culture and ethics con-

ducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in the day to day struggles. Along with it, the people's committees while conducting struggles by organising people in their own initiative must acquire experience and ability in all fields so as to be competent to function as an organised army. This army of the people's struggle is an ideologically inspired, consciously active organised battalion, which is known as the liberation army of the people. They are not like the mercenaries devoid of morality and ethical values. Such an army will not grow up in a day—nor can it be built up with persons of low culture. Like skilled architect, this is to be built up on the edifice of proletarian culture, in the midst of ordeal of protracted struggle with an ideal of emancipation and a definite object.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had left behind another invaluable lesson. No struggle which aims to protect the interest of the people is a matter of intellect alone—it concerns both intellect and emotional faculty. 'Revolutionary politics is a higher and nobler emotional faculty'. So also the revolution is.

Thought is continuously moving onward, so if the emotional faculty remains at a lower level then there will be a gap. Then the struggle and the thought as well will take a wrong track. The correct path will then elude us. No change can be brought about by participating or even by sacrificing one's life in such a struggle which is totally isolated from and devoid of ethics and culture. The back-bone of the nation will become erect only when the struggle is built up on the edifice of ethics and culture with a definite political object. These things are to be developed within the mass struggles with earnest care if one desires to build up socialist system basing on the theory of scientific socialism by replacing the existing capitalist exploi-

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5th. August—a day of great significance

5th August is a memorable day in the revolutionary movement of the working class. It is a day not only to remember the unique revolutionary life and struggle of the great teacher of the proletariat and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, which were the living embodiment of the highest communist consciousness "Revolution is life" but also is the day to renew our pledge to carry forward the revolutionary task of emancipating the society, which he has left to us to fulfil.

A great revolutionary leader's life and struggle do not go in vain in history. They are creative. They create new and higher thoughts and values, higher ethics and morals as also a new social-political force that bring dynamism in a society bogged down in barrenness of old and outworn productive system and thoughts, decadence in ethics and morality, stifled creativity and talent of man. It is this dynamism of revolutionary

thoughts and ideas, morals and ethics together with the social-political force upholding them that save the society by taking it along the historic course of change and progress, emancipating people and their creativeness in a higher phase of social development. SUCI is such a social-political force and the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is the living source of inspiration with which our country can find its path of emancipation and progress.

This incontrovertible fact reveals itself in the qualitative difference between morals, culture and politics SUCI represents and those of other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. While therefore all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties are exposing utter bankruptcy of their political morals and ethics in their most shameless scramble for power and privileges thereby displaying most shocking contempt for people's interest and the country's future, 5th August brings to the fore, higher ethics, morals and

political objective of SUCI. This is the only party that has not sold its class politics to the bourgeoisie for some gains in parliamentary politics. It is the only ray of hope to the toiling millions amidst darkness of vile bourgeois politics.

Symbolising this political reality, thousands and thousands of landless and poor peasants, industrial workers and employees, students, youths, women even the old came all the way trekking from remote villages and towns of distant districts to join the memorial meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on 5th August at Saheed Minar Maidan, organised by West Bengal State Committee of our party. The rural poor, the industrial workers, the students and youths who are fighting a life and death struggle against the capitalists aided and assisted by CPI(M) and its governmental machinery in West Bengal, were carrying a message for their fellow countrymen, a message of new hope and inspiration. They were

telling that although people have been betrayed by these parties—the pseudo-Left and pseudo-Marxists like CPI(M) and CPI, there was no reason to give way to despair. Here is the party, SUCI, the party that is resolutely defending their cause, upholding steadfastly the banner of revolution, reflecting higher proletarian ethics and culture that needs to be strengthened to bring an end to their miserable existence. From West Bengal to Kerala, everywhere, CPI(M) and other parties are all combined in opposing the march of this party and in doing so they are bringing down murderous attacks on our comrades but none can stop our march, really. The party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and nourished by his great revolutionary thoughts is the only force of revolution in our country and on its advancement depends the advancement of the cause of the exploited people, their emancipation from capitalist bondage.

The memorial meeting

at Saheed Minar Maidan was presided over by Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, West Bengal State Secretary. On the rostrum all red and in the shape of a martyr's column, was the big portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, bedecked with flowers. On behalf of the Central Committee, state, district and zonal committees of the Party and mass fronts, Party organs etc. wreaths were placed to pay homage to the great teacher and guide. The Homage Song to the great leader and other mass songs were presented by DYO music squad. Guard of honour was given to the great departed leader by Komsomol and DSO volunteer forces.

A pictorial exhibition of the atrocities of 15th June by the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government on the Civil Disobedience marchers in Calcutta was a great attraction. The bookstall, as usual, was the added attraction.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Party, who

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A portion of the massive gathering on 5th August. Inset : from left Com. Sukomal Dasgupta and Com. Ashutosh Banerjee addressing

THE CALL OF 5TH. AUGUST

[The 5th August calls upon all sections of the toiling people of the country to take pledge for engaging themselves more and more in untiring and arduous struggles under the leadership of the party, founded and reared by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat to ultimately free the country and the people from the grips and tentacles of the capitalist exploitative system.

At numerous memorial meetings held throughout the length and breadth of the country, toiling people took vow, to fulfil the behest of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Reports have been already reaching our central office from different corners of the country on solemn and dignified observance of the Memorial Day.

In this issue we give a brief coverage of the meeting, held on the occasion in Delhi and we hope to publish the news of observance of 5th August in other states in our next issue: Ed. P. Era]

Delhi, 7th August :

The Delhi Organising Committee of the SUCI observed the occasion in a most solemn and befitting manner.

The Memorial Meeting was held on the 7th August last, at the Constitution Club, New Delhi. It was a highly impressive meeting largely attended by workers teachers, students, youths and white collar employees of different private and public managements. Outside the meeting hall a photographic exhibition was organised on the heinous brutality perpetrated by the police of the

CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal on the peaceful volunteers of the mass civil disobedience movement that was organised under the leadership of the SUCI in Calcutta on 15th June, last. It created a sense of deep resentment among the people who in one voice condemned the anti-people anti-movement activity of the CPI(M) led Government.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade Omprakash Suman, and Comrade Shankar Singh, a member of the Central Committee of our Party,

the SUCI was the main speaker.

In his address, at the very outset, Comrade Singh while explaining the significance of the occasion, observed that the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh would act as indispensable and invaluable guide not only to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution of our country but to the international communist movement as well, and more so at the critical moment, through which it was passing at present. The teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was not only, the only hope of the present day struggles of the working class—but for decades to come it would act as the invaluable guide to the proletariat in their struggle for emancipation.

While explaining the present political situation, Comrade Singh observed that a peculiar situation had developed in the country. When, on the one hand, the people being more and more pressed by the mounting burden of capitalist exploitation were bursting out into struggles against the capitalist exploitative system, most of the political parties, including the so-called communists, were engaged in a naked, detestable competition to grab governmental power and serve the capitalists. While analysing the recent political development at the Centre, Comrade Singh observed disintegration of the Janata Party into splinter groups and the fall of the Janata Government was a manifestation of the intense crisis of the capitalist system. Comrade Singh further added that when the all-pervading most acute crisis of capitalism created an opportune moment to develop mass struggles for protecting the cause of the toiling people by forging an unity of left and democratic forces, an alternative of the people, the CPI and CPI(M), with the object of gathering some fruits of parliamentary politics were deeply engaged in the game of

bourgeois power politics sacrificing all political norms and ethics and by helping this or that bourgeois party or a combination of such parties to power were giving lease of life to the capitalist exploitative system.

In conclusion, Comrade Singh emphatically added that it was SUCI, the genuine revolutionary party on our soil, founded and reared by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the

outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era that alone could fulfil the hope and aspiration of the toiling millions.

So, he urged upon the people, to come forward, to strengthen SUCI and assemble under its banner to build up mighty left and democratic movement throughout the country as a prelude to develop the struggle for anti-capitalist socialist revolution—the only way to free the people and country from capitalist oppression and exploitation.

CPI(M) backed Jotedar Police Congress Combine murders two Comrades in West Bengal

Canning, 27th July '79 :

In broad daylight some 70/80 hired goondas of the jotedar and rural vested interest, armed with fire weapons including rifles, surround a village of poor peasants and share-croppers, fire at random, taking a toll of two lives and injuring many more. It is reported that policemen in plain clothes took part in this operation. We are describing here a scene enacted not in Rhodesia or in a colonial country where such thing is the usual form of keeping 'law and order' by the rulers but is the usual scene often being enacted in rural side of West Bengal, particularly in places where the poor peasants, the landless and share-croppers are in movement or in organised resistance against the jotedar and vested interest. This speaks volume not only of the class content of 'law and order' CPI(M) is zealously guarding but also of the 'class struggle' it is encouraging and organising.

The incident took place on 25th of July at 7 A.M. in the village Vetka under Itkhola Anchal of Canning P.S. in southern part of 24 Parganas, West Bengal. The attack was planned the previous night in a secret conclave at the house of one Barin Roy, a notorious jotedar, a government contractor and a local Congress leader. Some months ago, from the same house an armed attack was launched on unarmed, peaceful procession of poor villagers led by our Party.

In that attack police also took part with jotedar men and the 'Left-Front' Government did not lift even its little finger against the criminals despite our repeated representations and staging of a massive demonstration in Calcutta

demanding open enquiry into the incident and bringing to book, the culprits. Emboldened by this direct encouragement of the government, particularly of CPI(M) leadership, this time, the jotedar men, chose early morning to launch the attack, obviously with the intention of taking the life of active workers of our Party as also to create an atmosphere of terror and panick in the area.

The recent armed attack of the jotedar-police combine took the lives of Comrade Yakub Mollah and Comrade Noor Hossain Gazi, two active workers of our Party's peasant front, KKMf and seriously injured Comrades Balaram Naskar, Gaur Das and many others. A]3

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Revolutionary line of SUCI is the only ray of hope

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and brought ordinances on R B I employees' struggle and refund of CDS money. It was also threatening to re-introduce PD Act. The CPI(M) leadership would not have done much had it not become sure that the government would not stay in power. The so-called justification offered this time by these parties was their spurious fight against "authoritarianism and communalism". But who can dispute that authoritarianism is not the speciality of any individual bourgeois politician or party but is the characteristic feature of crisis-ridden moribund capitalism. That is why whichever party is coming to governmental power and is defending the bourgeois class policies and the very system is revealing authoritarian character. The parties who are so much vociferous against authoritarianism are also no exception to this historic truth. So, fight against authoritarianism, if it is to be consistent and real one, means a resolute stand against moribund capitalism itself. But the parties who still find progressive role of capitalism, and seek alliance with this or that bourgeois party or group, all guilty of authoritarian acts and deeds, are in fact, using the slogan 'fight against authoritarianism', just as an eyewash, a cover for their political opportunism of worst kind. That is why CPI(M) did not object to Charan Singh groups' soliciting the support of Indira Gandhi and her Congress but to its predicament the deal could not be kept secret, it has come to light. What kind of 'Marxism' CPI(M) is practising is obvious from its advice to Charan Singh to make a secret deal with Indira Gandhi. CPI had not such difficulty because their Bhatinda thesis made the Janata Party, the main enemy! But sensing the instability of the present government they too are now saying that their

support to the government is conditional. Both these parties, therefore, are directly responsible for giving political sanctity and rehabilitation to Indira Gandhi and her party in the country's politics. And this, the CPI(M) did after disgorging so much fire against authoritarianism and Indira Gandhi, who according to them was the main force of authoritarianism, till the other day.

Now, a few questions about CPI(M)'s alleged fight against communalism. First, is it a fact or not that Jana Sangh, the Hindu Communalist force was in the Janata Party with predominant strength at the time of Parliamentary Poll of 1977 and after that? Why then CPI(M) called the Janata Party a 'friendly party' and the "main force in the fight against authoritarianism" for more than two years in the past and maintained although a political alliance with that party? Is it because Jana Sangh was not then a communal force but suddenly became so, just a month back? By the way, did not CPI(M) form ministry in Kerala with the Muslim League, a communal party or even now is not it maintaining political alliance with a so-called progressive section of Muslim League?

Secondly, in its Jullander Congress, CPI(M) formulated an alliance of 'left and democratic forces' in which the Akalis, AIADMK and such other forces had found place. How can CPI(M) expect to fight against communalism, casteism, regionalism or all kinds of parochialism by taking all these regional and parochial forces into the alliance? Then what is in this slogan other than a device to confuse the people and cover up its misdeeds in bourgeois parliamentary politics?

Thirdly, it requires learning not much of Marxism to understand that the bourgeoisie at this phase of acute crisis is

fostering and fanning up communalism, casteism and all kinds of parochialism, to obstruct sharpening of class struggle against capitalist oppression. The principal bourgeois parties are making no secret of their efforts to get caste or communal backing in the elections. By this, they are directly encouraging the communal, caste and other parochial feelings and are thereby dividing the ranks of the toiling people. Naturally, the only scientific and correct way to fight this bourgeois design as also to consolidate the working people on class basis is to organise democratic mass movements and create thereby a democratic atmosphere where the communal forces can be kept at bay.

So, the fight against communalism-parochialism in today's perspective is interwoven with the fight against capitalism as such. Naturally, therefore, CPI(M) and CPI who are both standing today in defence of capitalism under cover of their fanciful theories of revolution are not only showing least concern in developing democratic mass movements but are in fact obstructing the movements by distracting the attention of the toiling people to parliamentary manipulative politics when the bourgeoisie is in deep crisis and disarray.

Otherwise, what better opportunity for organising and developing democratic mass movements on clear-cut left line on an all-India plane could be conceived? The bourgeois system is faced with acute crisis. The bourgeois parties and political system are in deep instability. A weak government is at the Centre, and even the coercive instruments of the state machinery are getting severe jolts because of the revolt of police and para-military personnels. Common people are getting thoroughly disgusted with the bourgeois political personalities and big parties. At the same time, there are acute problems in the economy making the life of common men miserable. This was a situation, when people

were eagerly expecting for an alternative from the left and democratic forces. But what was the response of the parties like the CPI and the CPI(M) to this urgent need of the hour? Instead of giving a bold lead in organising the people under a fighting forum of united front against the rotten bourgeois politics and mounting onslaughts of crisis-ridden capitalism, these parties just sank in the same unscrupulous and vile bourgeois politics as did the bourgeois parties and politicians. There was in fact no dividing line between the behaviours of leaderships of left and rightist parties. This is the worst kind of betrayal of the so-called left parties to the cause of the people, particularly if we keep in our mind the concrete political perspective of the present moment. The bourgeois design of two-party system has not yet got a good start but that does not mean that the idea has been abandoned or will not be attempted to be crystallised again. That possibility will always be there. For the present, the bourgeoisie is trying to avoid mid-term poll but it may be unavoidable few months hence. But meanwhile the bourgeoisie is hawking another alternative. There is already a clear move of vesting the President with overriding administrative power in case of parliamentary instability persisting at the Centre. Whether it will be done by giving a new interpretation to the existing provisions of the Constitution or through incorporation of a new provision, is a matter to see. But the move to give further centralisation of political power in the office of the President is obvious from the reports of the bourgeois press.

If this comes to reality, it will mean a worst from of constitutional dictatorship.

Besides, another dangerous symptom of decay of the bourgeois parliamentary system in the country is there to take serious note of by every democratic-minded patriotic person who feels least

concern for the country's sovereignty and future. There is open accusation of play of hands or influence of a foreign super power in the recent destabilisation of government at the Centre by men who are directly connected with the recent political drama in New Delhi. The present Prime Minister's accusation against one of his cabinet colleagues who is also now a big shot in his own cabinet, of having foreign link and being an agent of the same super power, has come to light. The President of Janata (S), Mr. Rajnarain, is openly soliciting the help of foreign powers through his dinner diplomacy with Foreign Embassy officials. This further corroborates the growing influence of foreign powers in the country's politics. This is taking place because the Indian monopoly houses, industrial and jotedar lobbies representing the same capitalist interest fail to come to a unanimity as to the choice of a party and personality that can best defend their aggregate interest. That is why the fragmented parties or groups are soliciting the support and backing of foreign powers, particularly of a super power to strengthen their positions in the bourgeois politics. The foreign powers, particularly the two super powers are also taking more active interest in the country's politics. One may be reminded in this connection of the visit of British and American consuls to CPI(M) office in Calcutta. And this party's tie and link with Soviet embassy and other embassies also came in newspaper reports. In the background of the most shameful and obnoxious behaviour of the bourgeois and social democratic parties and politicians as also absence of a healthy left and democratic alternative based on higher ethics and morals, if the people lose faith in political parties in general and grow apathetic to politics as such then a situation may arise that would provide the most fertile soil for fascism to gain in strength. Comrade

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Build up people's instruments of struggle and political power through mass struggle

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tative system through revolution.

Following the thoughts, teachings and guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, since a long time past, the Central Committee of our Party has been earnestly endeavouring to fulfil the historical task to build up a genuine left and democratic united front on the basis of a definite programme, policy and code of conduct. But instead of paying any heed to our effort—left parties like the CPI and CPI(M), thinking how to protect the crisis-ridden unstable, tottering, moribund capitalist system vis-a-vis the bourgeois parties through patch-works, are helping to keep this or that party in power and thus unmasking themselves. Through this nasty political game—though of course to save their face from the people and their own workers they are posing neutrality.

Our Central Committee on the one hand has urged upon the left and democratic forces to realise the significance of the genuine left and democratic front at this particular moment and make our initiative a success, and on the other hand, in response to the call of our Central Committee, to protest

against the anti-people politics and activities aiming at protecting the interest of the capitalist class that are being perpetrated by the governments led by the marked bourgeois parties namely, the two wings of Janata, two wings of Congress, regional parties like Akali and AIADMK, the qualition front of CPI and Congress—and by the so-called left front government led by the CPI(M), our party in different states is advancing with the programme of leading the left and democratic movement, step by step upward by uniting all sections of the toiling people, namely, the workers, peasants, students and youths on a wider scale throughout the length and breadth of the country.

It is only by developing this mass struggle on the edifice of higher proletarian ethics and culture that are conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution and leading this struggle to its logical culmination—we can pay our real homage to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat.

**Red Salute to
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !
Long Live Revolution !
Long Live SUCI !**

15th August—Day Of Taking Pledge

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Shibdas Ghosh warned our countrymen again and again against this disastrous consequence and impressed on them the urgency to get themselves ideologically-politically as also organisationally prepared under the revolutionary leadership of SUCI.

Our party has again and again and very consistently tried to unite all the left and democratic parties and forces on the common agreed democratic issues of the toiling people that will not only act as the bulwark against fascist danger but also as a precursor to revolutionary alliance of workers, peasants and

other strata of oppressed people. Again and again, this genuine attempt of our party has been obstructed by the forces of compromise—the revisionist and social democratic parties and forces like CPI(M) and CPI.

Our party, has therefore, single-handedly taken the historic task of organising the toiling people in concrete programme of democratic movements not only in one or two states but in all the states where we are working. It is this concrete step of organising the people on correct revolutionary line that is the only silver lining. People of our country

should not lose heart but instead they are to strengthen our party's initiative by joining in these movements. It is on the success of this move of our party depends the future of the country and the people. The concrete political situation in the country, is throwing up two clear alternatives before the people—either the success of the revolutionary line of our party, the line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution—for the establishment of real democracy, end of exploitation of all sorts and a healthy cultural-ethical-moral atmosphere in a society full of creativeness of man or the

CPI(M)'s Murderous Attacks On SUCI Workers in Kerala

Trivandrum, 21st July '79

CPI(M) workers raided our Party office in Trivandrum on 20th July last. At about 8-30 PM a violent gang of CPI(M)-CITU-SFI and KSYF (CPI-M's youth wing in Kerala) combine attacked the office with iron rods, cycle chains, soda water bottles and other weapons, stormed the office building and damaged heavily the party office and its property. Before attacking the party office the CPI(M) led goondas and anti-socials attacked Comrade M. Subramoni, the Trivandrum District Secretary of our Party and President of the Kerala State Council of AIDS. While Com. Subramoni was shopping near the Party office the attackers suddenly pounced upon him with lethal weapons. But he was saved by the resistance offered by the local people. Failing in that heinous attempt the attackers turned towards the party office and began throwing soda water bottles and stones heavily over the party office. When our comrades firmly and courageously stood against this attack they had to withdraw after some time.

However, this was not the latest in the chain of attacks made on our Party by the CPI(M)-SFI combine in Trivandrum. On 16th

July last SFI workers efaced our wall-writings against price-rise, spread of obscene literature and demanding curtailment of police budget etc. And on the same day at about 9 P.M. when our comrade Ajayan the Vice-President of the State Council of AIDS was coming out of the University campus alone, he was suddenly attacked from the back and severely beaten up by a gang of six SFI rowdies led by SFI leaders Prakas and Shasi.

Protesting against this heinous attack the Kerala University College unit of AIDS issued a leaflet on 18th July. While the comrades were distributing the leaflets, SFI rowdies again attacked them as a result of which Comrade Narayan Potti, Srikumar and Rajan were seriously injured. The general students expressed great indignation over this incident and they themselves proposed to observe the next day as a protest day.

Accordingly 19th of July was observed as the protest day. On this day while our DSO comrades were addressing the students, the SFI rowdies again attacked them and tried to snatch away and tear off the flags and festoons but in the face of the resistance of the

general students they fled. The general students highly appreciated the DSO comrades and their spirit. This infuriated the SFI-CPI(M) leadership and in reprisal they raided our office again on next night.

This was not the all in this spell of attacks over our party by the CPI(M). Again on 24th July last they seriously stabbed two of our Comrades Srikumar and Mohan at the University College in Trivandrum. Other two Comrades were also severely beaten up on 31st July at a lonely place of Dhanavadrapuram College. DSO on the same day at Quilon Comrade Jalalluddin was attacked and seriously injured at about 11-00 P.M. Our party Comrades in Kerala are valiantly fighting the gangsterism of CPI(M) who is resorting to this method because of steady erosion in its political base.

Failing to meet us politically and ideologically, the CPI(M), in their frantic bid to contain our growing influence over the people of the state, are taking resort to heinous tactics and methods.

This clearly vindicates the utter bankruptcy of their politics.

On 15th of August, let our people opt for the right course; let them take the solemn pledge for liberation from capitalist bondage.

**Long Live anti-capitalist
Socialist Revolution !**

**Long Live SUCI !
Long Live the revolutionary thoughts of
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !**

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CPI(M) mounts attack on SUCI to arrest militant mass movement

(Contd. from page 5)
of them are landless peasants and took active part in organising the poor peasants, share-croppers and the landless peasants against the jotedars and vested interest.

The same clique again fired upon a SUCI squad on 1st August last and seriously injured another comrade.

This trail of attack by the jotedars - police and vested interest combine reveals some important political facts. First, in this part, the jotedars-vested interest combine who kept vast tracts of lands in benam possession had to disgorge a sizeable portion at the pressure of organised movement of the poor and middle peasants led by KKMf, our peasant front. Through glorious battles since the first UF Government of 1967 in particular the poor and landless peasants, the share-croppers have been steadily rallying behind the banner of KKMf. This caused panick in CPI(M) leadership who was backing the jotedars and vested interest, and organised armed attacks camouflaged with vague talks of class struggle in the past. Secondly, since it came to governmental power in 1977, with the help and support of rural vested interest, it has been up and doing to consolidate its rural base of support by actively encouraging the jotedars' onslaughts against the poor peasants and at the same time trying to arrest the movement of the poor peasants under cover of law and order and so-called peaceful solution to their problems. The jotedars and rural vested interest who took the shelter of Congress in the past, now switch over their allegiance to CPI(M). And CPI(M) is

also organising the jotedars and rural vested interest on a class line against the poor and landless peasants in order to ensure its position in the parliamentary politics. Our Party, on the other-hand, has been striving hard, to organise and combine the poor and middle peasants against the attacks of the rural vested interest, directly aided and assisted by CPI(M), administrative machinery and police. Since 1977 poor peasants, share-croppers and landless peasants led by our party and KKMf have achieved some important victories in guarding and defending their rights against these armed onslaughts. The more they are scoring victories, the more our Party is emerging as their leader, the more desperate and furious are becoming the rural vested interest and are mounting their armed attacks against our Party, backed by CPI(M). The sharpening of class-struggle in the rural side is polarising the class forces in clearly two distinct lines. On the one hand, CPI(M) with its government machinery is combining the rural vested interest and our Party, on the other hand, is orga-

nising the exploited rural people on a definite class line against the jotedar police vested interest combine.

5th August

(Contd. from page 4)

was to deliver address as the main speaker could not be present because of ill-health and on medical advice. His speech was read out by the President of the meeting, Comrade Dasgupta. Comrade Mukherjee's speech is published elsewhere in this issue. After a brief introductory speech of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, member, West Bengal State Secretariat gave his address as the main speaker. In his long speech, Comrade Banerjee made a detailed and critical analysis of the current political situation vis-a-vis the roles of the revisionist parties, CPI and CPI(M). We will publish his speech in a later issue. We give below the brief and introductory speech of Comrade Dasgupta.

In his brief address, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta highlighted the significance of the observance of 5th August a Day of Remembrance in the history of international communist movement. He emphatically added that on this very day, one who aspired to grow up as a genuine revolutionary must recall the teachings, guidance and invaluable contributions of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the

Saheed Khudiram Day Observed

Calcutta, 14th Aug.

Saheed Khudiram is a name that stands for a burning flame of patriotism, unflagging devotion to the cause of national liberation and uncompromising fight against the oppressive rulers. Seventyone years ago on 11th August, this young patriot earned martyrdom at the gallows of the British imperialist rulers. This year, Komsomol, AIDS, DYO, Pathikrit and Mahila Sanskritik Sangha observed as usual, this day at the foot of Saheed Khudiram Statue, Calcutta.

Sri Drijendra Lal

outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, to all fields of life and epistemology, science and philosophy, ethics morality culture, art literature and aesthetics.

He stressed that to face with the situation at the existing critical hour, one needed not only to recapitulate but to correctly grasp the real significance of the teachings of this great leader of the proletariat.

He further recalled that it was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who developed the concept of collective leadership to a new height in the post-Lenin period and it was under his concrete leadership that SUCI emerged to fulfil the historic need of providing revolutionary leadership to the working class struggle in our country.

Sengupta, ex-MP was in the chair, veteran freedom fighter Sri Profulla Kumar Sen (Anusilan Samity), noted litterateur Sri Sailesh Dey and Comrade Pritish Chanda, member, Central Committee, SUCI, were present respectively as guest-in-chief, distinguished guest and main speaker.

Wreaths were placed and a vow was taken on this occasion wherein it was noted that although political freedom was achieved but the emancipation of our countrymen from exploitation of all sorts for which the martyrs and freedom-fighters like Khudiram fought and lay down their lives is yet to be achieved through the victory of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, in his long and rousing speech, recalled the high sense of moral-ethical values, dedication and death defying spirit of martyrs like Khudiram, Bhagat Singh, Chandra Sekhar Azad, Ashafakulla and others who represented the uncompromising trend within our national freedom movement. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great teacher of the proletariat who drew the attention of our countrymen again and again to the importance of a correct evaluation of these martyrs.

Comrade Chanda shows that it brought out bankruptcy of bourgeois ethics and political morality, only the revolutionary thoughts higher ethics and moral provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh can lead our society to a bright future and progress.

31st August—Martyr's Day

Mass Civil Disobedience in all district and sub-divisional headquarters, West Bengal

MASS MEETING

Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta 5 p.m.

President : Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee

Speakers : Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Manik Mukherjee, Provash Ghosh

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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